

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2254

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 4404

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (CORRECTION PARA 4 LINE 1)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: NEW COMMITMENT OF ARIAS GOVERNMENT TO
ORDERLY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

REF : FBIS #5724 1751116

SUMMARY: ON JUNE 24 IN HIS SECOND MAJOR ADDRESS BEFORE CORTES,
PREMIER ARIAS NAVARRO RECOMMITTED HIMSELF TO FULFILLMENT
OF PROGRAM ANNOUNCED FEBRUARY 12,1974, AS BASIS FOR
TRANSFER OF POWER FROM "PERSONAL REGIME" TO GOVERNMENT
BASED ON PARTICIPATION AND FIRM INSTITUTIONS. ARIAS
PROMISED SPECIFIC MEASURES TO ALLOW EMBRYO POLITICAL
ASSOCIATIONS TO TAKE PART IN FALL ELECTIONS TO "CORTES"
AND HELD OUT POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVEMENT IN STATUTE ON
POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. GOVERNMENT WOULD ALSO ADOPT MEASURES
PRIOR TO END OF YEAR TO CONTROL COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES.PRINCE
JUAN CARLOS RECEIVED PRAISE FOR HIS PRUDENCE, TACT AND "ELOQUENCE
OF HIS SILENCES." "CORTES" DEMONSTRATED ITS SUPPORT FOR PRINCE
ON HIS NAME DAY AS DID CABINET LED BY ARIAS IN CALL ON PRINCE.
PRINCE RECEIVED MORE ATTENTION IN ARIAS' SPEECH THAN FRANCO.
ARIAS STRESSED PRESERVATION OF LAW AND ORDER, IN WHICH ARMED
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FORCES HAD KEY ROLE AS GUARANTOR OF NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

ARIAS ALSO PROMISED FISCAL REFORM IN COMING YEAR AND MAJOR PLAN FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT. APART FROM PRAISE FOR "PRUDENCE" OF ARMED FORCES IN SPANISH SAHARA, PREMIER MADE NO REFERENCE TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS NOR DID HE REFER TO CHURCH AFFAIRS, NATIONAL MOVEMENT, UNIVERSITY ISSUES, YOUTH, OR MEDIA, WHICH ALL WERE COVERED IN FEBRUARY 12 GOVERNMENT STATEMENT. IN CONCLUSION, SPEECH AMOUNTED TO RECOMMITMENT TO ORIGINAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAM WITH EMPHASIS ON LAW AND ORDER AS PREREQUISITE FOR ANY ORDERLY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. PREMIER ARIAS NAVARRO MADE HIS SECOND MAJOR POLICY ADDRESS TO THE "CORTES" ON JUNE 24, APPROXIMATELY 18 MONTHS FROM HIS FIRST PROGRAMATIC STATEMENT FEB 12, 1974. PRIOR TO APPEARING BEFORE PLENARY OF "CORTES", ARIAS, ACCOMPANIED BY ENTIRE CABINET, PAID COURTESY CALL ON PRINCE JUAN CARLOS TO GREET HIM ON HIS SAINT'S DAY. "CORTES" PRESIDENT BALCARCEL OPENED SESSION WITH BRIEF PRAISE FOR DECEASED MINISTER AND SEC GEN OF MOVEMENT HERRERO TEJEDOR AND GREETING TO PRINCE JUAN CARLOS ON HIS SAINT'S DAY. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY STANDING OVATION.

2. ARIAS OPENED HIS SPEECH WITH PRAISE FOR DECEASED MINISTER AND FOR HIS SUCCESSOR, SOLIS RUIZ, WHOM HE CREDITED FOR BEING INNOVATOR OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. TURNING TO MAJOR THEME OF HIS SPEECH, ARIAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH FUTURE AND WANTED TO CARRY OUT PROGRAM WHICH WOULD LAY BASIS FOR NATIONAL CONSENSUS UNDER MONARCHY TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE ADHESION TO THE "PERSONAL REGIME" BASED ON FRANCO'S CHARISMA. STRONG INSTITUTIONS, HE SAID, WERE NECESSARY TO INSURE SECURE FUTURE FOR MONARCHY. ARIAS THEN RECOMMITTED HIMSELF TO PROGRAM DEFINED IN SPEECH FEB 12, 1974, NOTING THAT PREREQUISITE FOR WIDENING OF SCOPE OF PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS WAS PRESERVATION OF AUTHORITY. IN CANDID FASHION, ARIAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HIS PROGRAM HAD RUN INTO SNAGS AND OPPOSITION IN VARIOUS AREAS WHICH CAUSED HIM SOME "BITTERNESS." SOME PEOPLE, HE SAID, THOUGHT PROGRAM MEANT END OF REGIME WHEREAS OTHERS USED MORE "SUBTLE" TACTICS IN ORGANIZING FALSE DEMOCRATIC GROUPS. ARIAS SAID GOVT INTENDED TO PURSUE ITS ORIGINAL PROGRAM BUT WOULD NOT "ASSUME ANY UNNECESSARY RISKS."

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3. RE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS, ARIAS SAID ORIGINAL STATUTE WAS SUSCEPTIBLE OF IMPROVEMENT. GOVT INTENDED TO MAKE BOTH NORM AND PRACTICE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES MEET NEEDS OF DESIRED PARTICIPATION HE PROMISED FOUR SPECIFIC ACTIONS (FIRST THREE BY END OF AUGUST): (A) A DECREE WHICH WOULD REGULATE PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN FALL; (B) A DECREE REVISING CONDITIONS BY WHICH POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS QUALIFY FOR ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION; (C) ADOPTION

OF REGULATIONS PERMITTING POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS TO USE
PUBLIC MEDIA; AND (D) ISSUANCE OF REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT
TO STATUTE ON POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONL BEFORE END OF YEAR.

4. TURNING TO CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, ARIAS REPUDIATED IDEA
OF "RUPTURA", I.E., TOTAL CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, SAYING THAT
EXISTING BASIC LAWS WERE SUSCEPTIBLE TO AMENDMENT AND CHANGE.
GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO STUDY POSSIBLE AND NECESSARY REFORMS
PROVIDING THEY DID NOT CONFLICT WITH BASIC PRINCIPLES OF
REGIME. REITERATING STATEMENT HE MADE BEFORE NATIONAL
COUNCIL OF MOVEMENT JUNE 20, ARIAS SAID "REGIME WAS NOT UP
FOR AUCTION AND HAD THE VOCATION AND CAPACITY OF PERMANENCE."

5. ARIAS SAID PRESENT REGIME HAD A TRIPLE COMMITMENT: (1) TO
LEGITIMACY OF ITS ORIGIN: IN DISCUSSING THIS POINT, ARIAS
SAID THAT COMMUNISM WAS DEFINITELY EXCLUDED AND PROMISED NEW
LEGISLATION BEFORE END OF 1975 TO CONTROL COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES;
(2) NATIONAL UNITY: ON THIS POINT, ARIAS SAID THAT GOVT WAS
WORKING ON BROAD PLAN OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO COME UP WITH
PROPOSALS TO MEET CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND OTHER NEEDS OF REGIONS;
(3) ACCEPTANCE OF MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

6. ON MONARCHY, ARIAS PAID EXTENSION TRIUTE TO PERSONAL
QUALITIES OF JUAN CARLOS: PATRIOTISM, SERENITY, PRUDENCE,
STRENGTH, MILITARY VIRTUES, LOYALTY TO HIS VOWS, YOUTH AND
MATURITY, FIRMNESS AND "DIFFICULT ELOQUENCE OF SOME OF HIS
SILENCES."

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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7. ARIAS HAD SPECIAL WORDS FOR ARMED FORCES WHICH HAD AMONG THEIR MISSIONS THE DUTY TO GUARANTEE THE INSTITUTIONAL ORDER. IN ONLY REFERENCE IN ENTIRE SPEECH TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ARIAS CREDITED ARMED FORCES FOR EXERCISING "PRUDENCE AND COURAGE IN THE SAHARA BY NOT GIVING IN TO PROVOCATIONS AND THREATS.

8. ARIAS DEVOTED KEY SECTION OF SPEECH TO PRESERVATION OF PEACE WHICH WAS BROUGHT IN BY THE REGIME 39 YEARS AGO. HE WARNED THAT NO ONE SHOULD BE MISTAKEN INTO THINKING THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD RELAX REINS OF AUTHORITY. THERE WOULD BE NO QUARTER WITH SUBVERSION. IN OTHER SECTIONS OF SPEECH ARIAS PROMISED MAJOR TAX REFORM AND REFERRED TO GOVERNMENT'S RECENT ADOPTION OF REGULATION WITH RESPECT TO RIGHT TO STRIKE.

9. AT END OF SPEECH ARIAS AGAIN REFERRRED TO HOPES PINNED BY GOVERNMENT AND ALL SPANIARDS IN THE FUTURE REPRESENTED BY PRINCE JUAN CARLOS. LASTLY, HE PAID TRIBUTE TO FRANCO WHICH CAUSED CORTES TO GIVE STANDING OVATION.

10. COMMENT: PREMIER'S SPEECH WAS WHOLLY CONCERNED WITH INTERNAL AFFAIRS EXCEPT FOR BRIEF REFERENCE TO ROLE OF ARMED FORCES IN SAHARA. EVEN ON INTERNAL AFRAIRS, THERE WERE NOTABLE OMISSIONS OF KEY PROBLEM AREAS WHICH HE
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DISCUSSED IN HIS PROGRAMATIC SPEECH OF FEB 12: CHURCH AFFAIRS, UNIVERSITY PROBLEMS, YOUTH, TREATMENT OF THE MEDIA, AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT. IN HIS FEB 12 STATEMENT, ARIAS HAD MADE THE GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC INFORMATION POLICY A CORNERSTONE OF HIS PROGRAM TO INCREASE PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS. DROPPING THIS SUBJECT FROM THE SPEECH, PARTICULARLY AGAINST BACKDROP OF RECENT TREND TOWARDS MORE RESTRICTIVE APPLICATION OF PRESS LAW, TENDS TO DETRACT FROM CREDIBILITY IN HIS BASIC PROGRAM. SPEECH REPRESENTS, NONETHELESS, AN EFFORT TO RECREATE HOPEFUL AND PROMISING ATMOSPHERE WHICH WAS GENERATED BY HIS FIRST "CORTES" SPEECH. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE PRESENT SPEECH WILL GENERATE SUCH EUPHORIA EVEN THOUGH ARIAS HAS PROMISED SEVERAL SPECIFIC MEASURES TO MAKE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS MEANINGFUL IN ELECTORAL TERMS.

11. LAW AND ORDER AS A PREREQUISITE FOR ANY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IS STILL A KEY THEME IN GOVERNMENT PROGRAM. THIS IS REASSURING TO RIGHTWING ELEMENTS AS WELL AS REMINDER THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT TAKE ANY "UNNECESSARY RISKS." LIBERALIZERS WITHIN THE REGIME AND OUTSIDE THE REGIME,

HOWEVER, WILL HAVE SOME COMFORT IN KNOWLEDGE THAT SMALL STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TO INSURE THAT POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS WILL HAVE SOME ROLE TO PLAY IN COMING ELECTIONS. IT SHOULD BE RECALLED, HOWEVER, THAT NONE OF THESE ASSOCIATIONS HAS BEEN DEFINITELY APPROVED.

12. PREMIER'S SPEECH TOOK ON ADDITIONAL MEANING IN THAT IT WAS GIVEN ON JUAN CARLOS' NAME DAY (WHICH DOES NOT SEEM COINCIDENTAL) AND FOLLOWED SHORTLY AFTER DON JUAN'S MUCH CRITICIZED REMARKS LAST WEEK IN ESTORIL. IT APPEARED AIMED AT REITERATING GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO MONARCHICAL SOLUTION UNDER JUAN CARLOS TO ISSUE OF SUCCESSION. WHEREAS IN FEB 12 SPEECH ARIAS BALANCED REFERENCES TO FRANCO AND PRINCE, IN THIS SPEECH SPECIFIC PRAISE FOR PERSONAL QUALITIES OF PRINCE EXCEEDED REFERENCES TO FRANCO. ARIAS SEEMED TO TREAT FRANCO ALMOST AS IF HE WERE A FIGURE OF HISTORY, WITH THE PRINCE BEING THE FIGURE OF THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.
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